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ABSTRACT

Attitudes of youth (ages 14-21) toward fertility expectations and women's roles are examined for consistency (e.g., whether high career expectations are correlated with a desire for fewer children). Approximately 12,000 White, Black, and Hispanic youth rated their attitudes toward statements that a woman's place is in the home, employment of wives leads to juvenile delinquency, employment of both parents is an economic necessity, men should share housework, and women are happier when they stay at home. Results indicated that most youth tend to have nontraditional views on the role of women, although Hispanic youth tend more than their Black and White counterparts to believe that a woman's place is in the home. Young men and women who expect to complete more education have less traditional views. Of the three ethnic groups, only Black youth do not show congruence between attitudes toward women's roles and fertility expectations. Evidence also suggests that as they grow older, more youth view home and non-home roles as potentially conflicting. Females show greater consistency than males between fertility expectations and their view of women's role. (KC)

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Attitude Consistency Among American Youth

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Abstract

This study uses data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Work Experience of Youth for a representative sample of about 12,000 American youth, who were 14 to 21 years of age in 1979, to examine the extent of congruence between the attitudes of young men and women about the appropriate roles for women and their own fertility expectations. The study hypothesizes that women, whites, older youth, and youth expecting to complete higher education should show greater independent associations between their women's role attitudes and their fertility expectations. The results support these hypotheses, and the verified hypotheses are consistent with the notions that: (1) youth for whom attitudes toward women's roles and fertility expectations have more direct relevance, particularly in the short run, exhibit greater congruence between their values and expectations, and (2) youth who are less assimilated into the socioeconomic mainstream exhibit less congruence between their values and expectations, primarily because the variability in women's role attitudes exceeds the variability in fertility expectations and because youth who are less assimilated express more traditional values.

The learning of sex role attitudes, the preferences persons hold regarding sex role behaviors, begins in childhood, and evidence suggests that many adults continue to make significant distinctions between their children based on the child's sex (Lamb 1976, 1977 and 1978). Throughout the seventies, evidence has accumulated documenting a gradual shift toward more egalitarian sex role attitudes (Duncan and Duncan 1978; Mason et al. 1976; Scanzoni 1976 and 1978; Thornton and Freedman 1979) and behaviors (Lipman-Blumen 1976; Waite 1981), though men still appear to be more traditional or less egalitarian than women (Sexton 1979) and less educated persons appear to be more traditional than better educated persons (Sidel 1978). Some evidence also suggests that while there is a trend toward the espousal of more modern or more egalitarian general sex role values, these attitudes are sometimes tempered where specific sex role behaviors such as the legitimacy of nonhome activities for mothers or the sharing of household responsibilities are involved (Thornton and Freedman 1979). The liberalizing of sex role attitudes has, nonetheless, profoundly affected the decision making process concerning appropriate male-female behaviors (Scanzoni 1980). Arrangements that were once taken for granted are now talked about and the consequences are weighed.

As youth plan for adulthood, they may consider the several major dimensions of their prospective adult experiences within a coherent framework. Optimally, a

rational young woman will view her prospective family and nonfamily responsibilites as part of a generalized orientation toward her intended adult life style, and a rational young man will demonstrate some consistency between his own ideas about how many children he expects and what he views as the appropriate activities for his future wife. Scanzoni (1976) and Shaw and Statham (1982) have documented the correlation between less traditional sex role attitudes and lower fertility expectations for young women and, to a lesser extent, for young men.

To the degree that the modernizing of women's role attitudes and behaviors has not been uniform (Entwisle and Greenberger 1972; Angrist et al. 1976 and 1977; Sexton 1979; Sidel 1978) one might anticipate variations in the level of congruence between ideas regarding future home and nonhome activities. Changes in attitudes are usually gradual but may occur at different paces for various population subgroups. At the earliest stage of attitude change, one might espouse an increasingly popular view without regard for its consequences or implications. The attitudes held by women have become more progressive than those of men probably because the relevant issues impinge more directly on their lives. For this same reason, young women are likely to be more realistic, that is, to have a higher level of congruence than young men. One might also expect variations in the level of congruence based on age or life cycle stage. To the extent that early adolescent girls and

boys are less aware of the potential conflicts between marriage and child raising and careers, one might expect their level of congruence on these issues to be lower than that of their late adolescent counterparts. This anticipation is consistent with the findings of Stolzenberg and Waite (1972) who report that the association between labor force participation plans and fertility expectations for women becomes increasingly stronger with age.

One can also, considering the cultural heterogeneity of our society, anticipate variations among the different ethnic groups not only in how they view the roles of men and women but in the degree of consistency between their expected fertility and role definitions. Ethnic variations have been demonstrated in the propensity of women to combine home and work roles (Mott and Shapiro 1978), in attitudes regarding appropriate female role behavior (Gackenbach 1978; Mason and Bumpass 1973; Shapiro and Crowley 1980) and in fertility expectations (Bonham and Placek 1975; Shapiro and Crowley 1980).

Social psychological consistency theories postulate a basic human need for congruence among attitudes and behaviors (Heider 19[illegible], Zajonc 1960). Most of these theories assume that the presence of inconsistency produces tension which causes an individual to rearrange his psychological world to produce consistency. Though consistency theory presupposes rationality, empirical obserations reveal many instances of irrational behavior or

attitudes. McGuire (1966) lists several ways in which inconsistency may be created within an individual who has a basic striving toward consistency. Paramount among these, for our present concerns, are conflicting social roles. From the developmental perspective, the period of greatest tension is the adolescent period during which an individual's social roles undergo the greatest change.

This paper will examine more closely than previous studies the issue of the consistency or congruence of fertility expectations with attitudes regarding women's roles. This paper will also examine variations in the level of congruence for population subgroups which, to our knowledge, has not been done before. In so doing, we will test the following hypotheses which will be explicated further in a later section:

1. Young women exhibit more congruence between their intentions and values than young men.
2. Older youth exhibit more congruence than younger youth; the sex differential in congruence narrows with age.
3. Youth with higher levels of educational intentions exhibit more congruence than youth with lower levels of educational intentions.
4. Hispanic and black youth exhibit more traditional values and less congruence than do white youth.

The Data

Data from the new youth cohort of the National Longitudinal Surveys of Work Experience enable us to test these hypotheses directly (Center for Human Resource Research 1981). This survey is funded by the U.S. Department of Labor, and the National Opinion Research Center conducts the interviewing. The survey will continue for at least six annual survey rounds. The first round, completed during the first half of 1979, included interviews with 5,578 male and 5,835 female youth age 14 to 21 in the civilian population and an additional 1,281 military youth. "Oversamples" of black and Hispanic youth and white youth from economically disadvantaged backgrounds were included to provide sample sizes sufficiently large enough for statistically reliable ethnic and socio-economic comparison. Also included were interviews with approximately 1,900 Hispanic youth, 2,900 black youth, 1,700 economically disadvantaged white youth and 4,900 other white youth distributed approximately evenly between male and female youth. The subsets can be weighted up to a representative national cross-section of American male and female youth aged 14 to 21 in 1979. This first survey round included the data utilized in our paper.

While the principal focus of the data set is on questions relating to the past and prospective educational, employment and training experiences of youth, it also

includes a wide variety of questions relating to this groups' socioeconomic and demographic backgrounds. These questions provide information on the respondents' and their parents' birth place, their current and childhood religion and religious attendance, their attitudes regarding women's roles, and their past fertility experiences and prospective fertility intentions. A unique aspect of the data set is that the questions on fertility expectations and attitudes regarding women's roles are asked of youth of both sexes. Thus, it is possible to examine not only sex differences in fertility expectations, but also sex differences in the extent of the congruence between fertility expectations and attitudes regarding the appropriate adult roles for women.

The questions on fertility expectations and the possible limitations of these items are noted in the appendix. The interview schedule included eight separate items focusing on various dimensions of women's roles. These eight items, which are specified in Table 1, were chosen for inclusion in the interview instrument partly because some of them had been asked in earlier survey rounds of the original NLS young men's and womens's cohorts and partly because they are items that have been frequently used and cited in the literature (Mason et al., 1976).

The Hypotheses

The objective of this research is to examine the patterns of consistency or congruence between fertility

expectations and attitudes regarding women's roles for various subsets of American youth. One can argue that men who are more sensitive to equality of opportunity for women and equal distributions of responsibility between the sexes would consider smaller family sizes preferable, all other things being equal. In addition, women with ambitious career aspirations should rationally have smaller family size desires. While inconsistency on these issues is certainly possible given the conflicting norms of our society, individuals with a high level of congruence on these issues might be regarded as having a more realistic view of the future.

Achieving both equality of roles and large family size would ordinarily require a major input of household effort on the part of the male partner. Thus, this combination would on average require a larger role transition for the man than is commonly evidenced (Vanek 1980; Thornton and Freedman 1979). We hypothesize that while social pressures will at this point in history cause young men to verbalize positive responses regarding role equalitarianism, the extension of these expressions to action is probably more tenuous for men than for women. It is likely, therefore, that a weaker link will be found between attitudes towards women's roles and expressed fertility intentions for men than for women. The woman is more likely to have internalized the direct connection between various aspects of her future activity and fertility intentions than the

man. Our research will test this hypothesis.

As youth age from 14 to 21 they move toward a life cycle stage where they are increasingly forced to mesh ideals and reality. Thus, as they age, we hypothesize that increasingly strong associations between fertility expectations and other generalized ideas regarding appropriate adult role behaviors for women should exist. While this connection should be stronger for women than for men, we anticipate some narrowing of the sex gap in this discrepancy as youth age, to the extent that ideas about women's roles or childbearing are relatively even more abstract in early adolescence for boys than for girls. A comparison of the association between attitudes towards women's roles and fertility expectations within a highly controlled multivariate framework for young men and women at different ages will enable us to examine whether there is indeed a narrowing in attitudinal congruence between the sexes as they age.

Youth with higher educational intentions are more likely to plan rationally their future. Higher educational expectations are correlated with definite career plans; that is, youth who plan to attend school after high school are more likely to be obtaining that education with specific career intentions in mind. We anticipate that this rationality will also carry over into the sphere of congruence between attitudes regarding women's roles and expected fertility. Thus, we hypothesize a higher level of

congruence on these issues for youth with higher levels of educational intentions.

Finally, we expect that black, white and Hispanic youth will vary with regard to how well they integrate their ideas about home and nonhome activities. There are known to be differences between white, black and Hispanic Americans in their attitudes regarding appropriate adult roles for women. In some cases, minority groups in the U.S. have been found to espouse more traditional values regarding appropriate behavior for women (Shapiro and Crowley 1980; Mason and Bumpass 1973). Jesse Bernard (1966), for instance, reports that in a study of the families of college students the proportion of role reversed families (families in which the mother played the instrumental role and the father played the expressive role) was higher among whites than blacks. This finding suggests that when both parents are present, the black family is more traditional than the white family and transmits more traditional values in the childhood socialization process. Similarly, Montiel (1973) reports that there is a more traditional family structure among Chicanos than among whites in American society.

It is not at all clear, however, that major ethnic variations in fertility expectations exist any longer for American youth (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1979). If an absence of these variations is indeed the case, it speaks for less attitude congruence among minority than white youth. In this case, however, the lack of congruence occurs

not because modern views of female roles conflict with earlier norms about family size, but because new norms about smaller family size are less consistent with traditional attitudes about women's roles. In other words, for some population subgroups, changes in fertility norms have actually outpaced changes in expressed attitudes about women's roles.

Black adolescent women have at this point in history probably internalized important dimensions of their likely adult existence to a greater extent than their male counterparts. First, many will have to work when they reach adulthood, a reflection of their lower economic status and greater likelihood of not having a husband (Mott and Shapiro 1978; Mott and Maxwell 1981). Second, given the fact that they will probably be the principal homemaker, one important way in which they will be able to cope will be by having a small family. In this sense, certain conflicting pressures may come into play; historically, black women, who have tended to be of lower socioeconomic status, have had many children, partly reflecting a lack of modern family planning knowledge and technology and partly reflecting traditional ideas regarding the positive value of a large family (Bonham and Placek 1975). Considerable evidence exists now, however, indicating that young black women have internalized the "child values" of the dominant white culture and perhaps want even fewer children than white women (Westoff and Ryder 1977; Stevens 1981). Blacks in

American society are an extremely upwardly mobile group. One important mechanism for reaching middle class status is employment--of all adult family members. Indeed, there is evidence that an important way for black families to attain middle class status is by having the wife and other family members work. Black families attaining a given income level do so by having, on average, more wage earners than comparable white families (Mott 1979). In addition, an upwardly mobile black is less able to draw on familial resources for support than is a white person. An upwardly mobile young black woman, in particular, attending college or forming an adult family unit is much more likely to come from a poor background. Thus, she is less likely to have savings or accumulated assets partly because there are fewer intergenerational transfers she can receive from her parental family (Mott and Shapiro 1978). All of these factors are consistent with a greater need for young black women to work and, rationally, to anticipate and actually to have fewer children. We hypothesize, consequently, that less congruence as well as more traditional values regarding women's roles will be expressed by black men than by black women, paralleling similar sex attitude discrepancies hypothesized to be prevalent within the white population group (Scanzoni 1976; Entwisle and Greenberger 1972; Angrist et al. 1976 and 1977; Sexton 1979).

One might anticipate a similar network of associations, in many respects, for Hispanic-American youth. There is,

however, one major difference between this group and black youth. On average, the Hispanic youth and their families have been in the United States for a much shorter time and therefore are perhaps less assimilated into the larger society. For this reason, their ideas regarding appropriate roles for women may be more traditional.

Stevens (1981) partitions an individual's level of social mobility into mean mobility, which is a function of the mobility of the social class of origin, and relative mobility, which is a function of individual endeavors, motivations, skills, and luck. He finds the former negatively related to fertility and the latter positively related. We hypothesize that the lower mean mobility for Hispanic men and women will be associated with more traditional values regarding women's roles, which in the absence of significant ethnic variations in fertility expectations of youth (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1979) will lead to a lower level of congruence between fertility expectations and ideas regarding women's roles. We hypothesize, then, that for Hispanics, changes in expected fertility have outpaced changes in attitudes toward women's roles.

While the young adult Hispanic generation is also somewhat upwardly mobile, it may not yet be so to the same extent as the young blacks who, as noted, are probably acculturated to a greater degree. If this assumption is true, one might find for Hispanics less conflict between the

sexes at this point in history. Stycos (1981), for instance, finds no difference in fertility desires between Hispanic men and Hispanic women.

Methodology

The primary objective of this research is to examine the extent to which the various population subgroups specified earlier differentially view their fertility future and ideas regarding appropriate roles for women within a coherent framework. Congruence or lack of congruence may be a reflection of the extent to which population subgroups differ with regard to their fertility expectations, their ideas regarding women's roles, or some combination of both of these factors. In the section that follows, the tabular materials are included as a mechanism for clarifying the likely basis for fertility--women's roles discrepancies for the various population subgroups with a particular focus on the extent to which the discrepancies are sensitive to respondents' anticipated levels of education.

Because we are concerned with fertility-attitude associations rather than any implied causations, the subsequent multivariate analysis will examine within a partial correlation context the independent association between fertility expectations and women's roles attitudes, controlling for a full range of background factors generally considered to be correlated with fertility and/or women's roles attitudes. A more complete specification of the

modeling is indicated later.

Adolescent Views on the Adult Roles of Women

The eight attitude items representing the components of our women's role scale in the multivariate analysis and the responses of the youth on these items are included in Table 1. (The complete questions may be found in Table A of the Appendix.) The majority of the items focus directly on the employment aspect of women's roles. While the face validity of the appropriateness of most of the items within the context of a more or less traditional orientation regarding appropriate roles for women should be clear, some of the items will also be directly sensitive to other economic factors. For example, responses to the statement "employment of both parents is necessary to keep up with the high cost of living' will also reflect a respondent's actual and anticipated need to work, or to have a spouse work. In this context, this response should still be a useful indicator of how a youth views his or her fertility future.

Most youth, regardless of their ethnic origin or sex, generally tend to have views on most of the items consistent with a non-traditional orientation towards the appropriate role for women. The percent agreeing with the various attitude items follows a similar pattern for both sexes, although for the most part, and not unexpectedly, women have more liberal views than men. About 78 percent of the young men and 84 percent of the young women agree with the

statement, "men should share the housework"--a statement that is probably hard to disagree with publicly in an era of almost universally expressed notions of work equality, if not role equality. Also, only about 30 percent of the young men and 15 percent of the women feel that "a woman's place is in the home," another item where disagreement might be difficult to express.

For the most part, Hispanic men and women have, on average, more traditional views than their white and black counterparts. This tendency reflects their lesser assimilation into the larger society as indicated in Table 2, which shows the percent agreeing with the eight items separately for native and foreign born Hispanic youth. In almost all cases, the foreign born youth have more traditional values than the native born youth, with this differential being prevalent for both the young men and women. Indeed, in a number of instances, the attitudes of the native-born Hispanic youth do not differ markedly from those of all American youth. Attitudes for native born Hispanic youth that still differ from those of other American youth fall between attitudes of the foreign born Hispanic youth and the white group.

Black and white respondents showed major disagreement on only two items; black respondents were more likely than whites to feel that "employment of both parents is necessary to keep up with the high cost of living," a finding that is not surprising considering their lower average economic

status. Blacks were also more likely to feel that "women are happier if they stay at home and take care of the children," an item more closely related with traditional views regarding the role of women.

Since this research focuses on youth who, for the most part, are still enrolled in school, expected education is used as a proxy for those life style dimensions where educational attainment is ordinarily used. Thus, years of schooling expected is likely to be associated with anticipated higher incomes, anticipated higher occupational status and work participation and probably with more liberal views regarding the adult roles of women. As Table 1 suggests, young men and women who expect to complete more education do indeed have less traditional views. Also, the magnitude of the differences in the attitudes by education are generally similar for the young men and women, although educated women continue to have more liberal views than the men who plan (or have completed, in some cases), higher education.

The data have shown in general, however, that significant differentials in attitudes regarding women's roles do exist within the youth population. These differences are particularly pronounced between the sexes, between those expecting more or less education and, to a lesser degree, among Hispanic, black, and white youth. The principal focus of this paper, however, is not on these differentials, but rather on whether these differentials are

congruent with fertility expectations for the same youth.

Fertility Expectations and Women's Roles: Initial Evidence of Congruence

The average young man or woman in the NLS youth sample expects to have about 2.45 children with no major difference being evidenced overall between men and women (see Table 3).[1] Thus, in the aggregate, sex differences in attitudes towards women's roles do not carry over to parallel differences in fertility expectations. For white respondents, who account for the bulk of the population, there are no significant sex differences in fertility expectations. For both black and Hispanic youth, however, boys expect more children than girls, consistent with their somewhat more traditional orientation concerning the appropriate adult activities for women.

It is important to note the positive association between educational expectations and fertility expectations, particularly for the white youth. Most of the literature focusing on the association between education and fertility hypothesizes and confirms that educational attainment is inversely related with fertility (Blake 1967; Westoff and Ryder 1977). Although most studies have concentrated on attained education and completed fertility, recent data for young U.S. female cohorts continue to express an inverse completed education-fertility expectation association. For most younger age groups, June 1978 Census data suggest the

traditional inverse association between years of school completed and lifetime births expected (U.S. Census 1979). Whether our results reflect an incongruity associated with life cycle stage or perhaps a new trend developing remains to be seen, but to the extent that educational expectations are interwoven with both fertility expectations and attitudes regarding women's roles, major changes in the education-fertility association may be relevant. Indeed, even at this gross level of analysis, certain inherent inconsistencies are apparent as, on average, those men and women with more liberal attitudes are the same educational subsets as those wanting more children.

Only Hispanic youth follow the traditional pattern of inverse association between educational and fertility expectations, perhaps reflecting their different stage in the assimilation process. They may view the upward mobility process as one requiring them to have fewer children if they wish to move up the educational and occupational ladder.

The education-fertility association for white male and female youth can perhaps be most easily interpreted from an economic perspective; white youth expecting more education may also be anticipating a relatively high future living standard. At this life cycle point they may have intentions of translating this income into a greater "acquisition" of children, viewing them as one of a range of "consumer durables" a couple can acquire. Inconsistencies between fertility intentions and female roles may become more

apparent as youth age, of course, and ideas regarding expected number of children (and/or appropriate roles for women) may change.

When the eight attitude items are collapsed into one scale ranging from 8 to 40, a clear overall association between fertility expectations and attitudes regarding women's roles is evidenced. Each of the eight items is scaled from one to five with one being the nontraditional pole and five being the most traditional. Thus, a young man or woman who "strongly disagreed" with the traditional perspective on each of the items would have a score of eight. At the other extreme, a respondent replying in a most traditional manner on all the items would score a 40.

Table 4 shows a positive association between a traditional attitude orientation and the number of children one expects both for all young men and young women, although, as expected, the association is clearer and stronger for women. The nontraditional polar group of women expect about 2.2 children, compared with almost 2.9 children for the traditional polar group. The male group ranges from, in contrast, about 2.3 to 2.6 children, with the pattern being slighly erratic.

The white association by sex is, of course, quite similar to the overall pattern. In particular, white females show a strong positive pattern, whereas the male association is somewhat erratic except for the clearly higher fertility expectations for the polar traditional

group. These results are, of course, consistent with the earlier expressed hypothesis of a greater congruence between the fertility and home-nonhome activity dimensions for women than for men.

Both male and female black youth show a much more erratic association between fertility expectations and role attitudes. There is little difference, in addition, between the black male and female associations in this noncontrolled two-dimensional association. Both Hispanic males and females, on the other hand, show a "rational," albeit somewhat erratic, pattern as those with more traditional views also expect more children.

The stratification of the sample by education expectations provides initial confirmation of our hypothesis that youth planning more education exhibit more congruence between their women's role attitudes and fertility expectations than do youth planning less education. Men with high educational intentions apparently make a closer association between their expressed attitudes and expectations than men with lower educational intentions. This education differential is particularly strong for the women.

Young women who expect to complete at least some college show an extremely strong positive association between fertility and traditionality. These women are apparently making a much closer tie between prospective home and nonhome activities than are the less educated group.

The sex differential remains strong for both education subgroups. Though the prospective college men show a closer association than those expecting less education, their association appears weaker than that for the women.

The variations by educational expectations within the white, black and Hispanic groups, though not presented here, show similar patterns, but for the two minority groups these patterns are slightly erratic, probably reflecting smaller sample size.[2]

Sex Role and Fertility Expectation Congruence: A Multivariate Perspective

The major themes considered in this research relate to the extent of the congruence between prospective home and nonhome activities for American youth. In particular, to what extent does this congruence vary between the sexes, by age, by educational expectations, and among white, black, and Hispanic youth? The principal hypotheses are that congruence should be greater for young women for whom the activities being discussed are more relevant; that the congruence should be greater for both older boys and girls who are approaching adulthood; that there should be greater congruence for youth who expect to complete more education and finally, that the congruence should be greater for white youth than for the minority, particularly the Hispanic youth.

To test these hypotheses, we examine in this section the strength of the association, measured by the partial

correlation coefficient, between the composite women's role attitude item specified earlier and the number of children respondents expect to have, controlling for other variables frequently considered to be associated with these two factors. These control variables are listed in Table 5,[3] and the relevant partial correlations are presented in Tables 6 and 7. In all instances, the partial correlations presented in Tables 6 and 7 are from multivariate analyses of stratified subsamples of the population. For example, the partial correlation coefficient between women's role attitudes and fertility expectations for men age 20 and 21 comes from a model limited to this age and sex group, controlling for all of the other variables (except age) listed in Table 5, and so on.

The composite women's role attitude item is related to fertility expectations within both the overall male and female models. It may be noted in Table 6, however, that while this relationship is significant for females of all ages, it is only significant for the older males. This sex differential, however, as can be seen from the correlation coefficients for the separate ethnic models, reflects solely the influence of the white subset. The result, then, is consistent with the earlier uncontrolled tabular data that suggested a lesser sex differential in attitude congruence for the minority groups.

Of the three ethnic groups, only the black youth do not show any apparent congruence between attitudes towards

women's roles and fertility expectations after controlling for the other relevant demographic and socioeconomic factors. Thus, black youth apparently do not view the home-nonhome dimensions of the expectation and attitude items within a common framework.

An examination of the attitude congruence for the separate age models also suggests results generally consistent with the hypothesis relating to increasing realism associated with approaching adulthood. For both the boys and girls, the partial correlation between the attitude variable and expected fertility increases in size and generally gains in significance between the youngest (age 14 to 17) and oldest (age 20 to 21) groups, suggesting that youth do indeed tend increasingly to view different aspects of their approaching adult life style within a more coherent framework as they attain maturity.

Some evidence also suggests that the gap between the sexes with respect to this congruence does narrow as adulthood is approached. As hypothesized, in early adolescence, whereas girls may give some thought to their forthcoming adulthood, the relationship between forthcoming fatherhood possibilities and views regarding one's prospective wife's activities are remote for boys. The insignificant partial correlation coefficient for boys and the significant partial correlation coefficient for girls in the 14 to 17 year old model support this hypothesis.

The partial correlation coefficients are highly

significant, on the other hand, for both sexes ages 20 to 21 suggesting that the realism gap between the sexes does narrow as adulthood becomes imminent. By age 20, young men are apparently increasingly viewing concepts of fatherhood and women's roles in juxtaposition.

As also suggested by the tabular results, congruence between attitudes towards women's roles and fertility expectations is evidenced much more strongly for those youth expecting to attend college, as seen clearly in Table 7.[4] For both boys and girls, the association between the women's role item and fertility expectations is much stronger for those expecting at least 13 years of school. In fact, young men not expecting to attend college apparently see no association between how many children they expect to have and what they view as a woman's role. Thus, for the most part, it is only at the higher educational levels that home and nonhome roles are viewed as potentially conflicting. Perhaps a greater career orientation among those expecting more schooling is viewed by these respondents as a greater potential source of conflict.

Conclusion

Consistent with what is genrally assumed, most American male and female youth, when asked their ideas about the appropriate adult roles for women, verbalize responses that could be anticipated--they say there should be equality in the home and in the work place. Variations do, of course,

exist, as women feel stronger about these issues than do men. Also, white youth, who presumably have more completely internalized the verbalized "norms" in this regard, give, on average, less traditional responses, although we have shown that in many instances, black and Hispanic youth verbalize similar responses.

When these responses are viewed within a somewhat broader context, however, ambiguities in interpreting these responses become evident; females show a greater degree of consistency between their responses along the women's role dimension and fertility intention than do males; white youth evidence more consistency in their responses than minority youth, particularly Hispanic youth; youth with higher educational intentions show greater consistency than youth with lower educational intentions; and younger youth show less coherence in their responses than older youth. In particular, white girls show significantly more rationality, as measured by response congruence, than any of the other population subgroups examined in this study. It is thus suggested, at this point in our history, that while "appropriate" responses (as measured by what is generally verbalized in the larger society) to questions relating to the roles of women will generally be verbalized by most young adults, the extent to which these verbalized responses represent the inner feelings of many of the youth remains to be seen. One encouraging factor in this regard is the

apparent increasing congruence in the attitude convergence between boys and girls as they approach adulthood.

Footnotes

[1]The Appendix includes a discussion of how these data compare with comparable Census estimates.

[2]While space limitations do not permit their presentation here, seven of the eight component attitude items showed the expected association between traditionality and higher fertility expectations to a much greater extent for those expecting more education. The only item showing a similar albeit more modest association for both education groups was the item relating to the sharing of housework. This item was the least useful predictor for the respondents anticipating more education.

[3]For discussions of the relationships between these variables and fertility see Blake 1967; Duncan et al. 1965; Ryder and Westoff 1971; Stolka and Barnett 1969; Westoff et al. 1963; Westoff and Ryder 1977; Whelpton et al. 1966.

[4]The pattern of the education differential in congruence is very similar when viewed through cross-tabular analysis (Table 4) to the pattern when viewed in the controlled multi-variate framework (Table 7), suggesting that in this case the additional controls explain less than we anticipated.

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Table 1 Percent Agreeing With Women's Role Items, by Ethnicity, Sex, and Education Expectations

Statement	Total		Hispanic		Black		White	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	TOTAL							
A woman's place is in the home	29.9	14.8	40.7	20.5	29.0	14.8	29.3	14.3
A wife doesn't have time for employment	33.7	21.8	45.8	32.9	38.7	21.9	31.9	20.9
A working wife feels more useful	69.3	60.4	64.1	62.9	71.7	66.0	69.2	59.3
The employment of wives leads to juvenile delinquency	29.8	22.9	35.1	30.5	27.4	21.7	29.8	22.5
Employment of both parents is necessary to fight inflation	62.5	68.1	64.9	72.9	77.8	80.8	59.8	65.5
It is better if the man works and the woman stays home	47.9	34.8	58.8	42.9	50.5	38.5	46.7	33.5
Men should share the housework	77.8	83.8	78.4	81.5	75.1	85.1	78.3	83.7
Women are happier if they stay home	32.7	24.4	49.6	38.3	40.1	28.8	30.2	22.8
Sample size	5538	5813	899	931	1424	1472	3215	3410
	EXPECTED EDUCATION 0-12 YEARS							
A woman's place is in the home	38.5	21.9	50.8	29.0	36.7	23.0	37.8	21.1
A wife doesn't have time for employment	42.4	27.8	55.9	39.1	45.7	32.4	40.6	26.0
A working wife feels more useful	70.6	62.8	63.0	68.5	70.8	66.9	71.2	61.6
The employment of wives leads to juvenile delinquency	33.6	27.0	40.4	35.6	31.1	27.4	33.5	26.1
Employment of both parents in necessary to fight inflation	66.8	69.9	66.6	74.3	81.0	83.0	65.3	67.2
It is better if the man works and the woman stays at home	56.7	44.9	66.2	52.2	55.5	50.3	56.1	43.3
Men should share the housework	72.9	78.1	73.5	77.0	70.1	79.6	73.4	78.0
Women are happier if they stay home	42.4	34.4	61.3	47.6	49.2	40.5	39.5	32.1
Sample size	2810	2666	484	455	744	645	1582	1566
	EXPECTED EDUCATION 13+ YEARS							
A woman's place is in the home	22.5	9.4	30.4	12.1	21.1	8.6	22.2	9.3
A wife doesn't have time for employment	26.2	17.3	35.1	27.2	31.5	13.9	24.9	17.2
A working wife feels more useful	68.2	78.8	65.8	58.0	72.8	65.5	67.7	57.7
The employment of wives leads to juvenile delinquency	26.5	19.7	28.8	24.4	23.0	17.5	26.8	19.7
Employment of both parents is necessary to fight inflation	58.7	66.6	63.6	71.2	74.2	79.2	56.1	64.2
It is better if the man works and the woman stays home	40.3	27.2	50.6	34.3	45.4	29.3	38.9	26.4
Men should share the housework	82.1	87.9	83.8	85.5	80.1	89.0	82.3	87.8
Women are happier if they stay home	24.3	16.8	36.1	28.7	30.4	19.6	22.6	15.6
Sample size	2728	3147	415	476	680	827	1633	1844

Table 2 Percent of Hispanics Agreeing with Women's Role Attitude, by Sex and Place of Birth

Statement	Male		Female	
	Born U.S.	Foreign born	Born U.S.	Foreign born
Women's place is in home	36.1	51.5	15.8	35.6
Wife doesn't have time for work	41.8	54.4	29.0	46.8
Working wife feels more useful	68.0	55.1	64.0	60.0
Wife employment causes juvenile delinquency	31.9	42.2	26.0	44.2
Employment of both parents necessary to meet living costs	64.8	64.9	71.2	77.6
Better for man to work and wife to stay home	57.0	62.3	39.0	54.5
Men should share housework	78.9	76.8	82.0	82.1
Women are happier at home	44.9	60.7	32.3	54.7
Sample size	640	259	698	233

Table 3 Differentials in Fertility Expectations, by Sex, Educational Expectations, Ethnicity, and Age

Ethnicity and age	Male				Female				All educucation exp.			
	Expect 0-12 school		Expect 13+ years		Expect 0-12 school		Expect 13+ years		Male		Female	
Total	2.40	(2675)	2.50	(2577)	2.36	(2560)	2.50	(3023)	2.46	(5306)	2.44	(5623)
14-17	2.44	(1509)	2.61	(1246)	2.35	(1318)	2.58	(1372)	2.53	(2768)	2.48	(2698)
18-19	2.40	(705)	2.51	(645)	2.39	(675)	2.49	(812)	2.46	(1369)	2.44	(1506)
20-21	2.34	(461)	2.36	(686)	2.35	(567)	2.37	(839)	2.35	(1169)	2.36	(1419)
Hispanic	2.92	(476)	2.74	(407)	2.74	(452)	2.56	(475)	2.84	(903)	2.63	(943)**
14-17	2.95	(269)	2.85	(201)	2.65	(237)	2.64	(250)	2.90	(475)	2.64	(489)***
18-19	3.05	(128)	2.83	(106)	2.71	(116)	2.51	(111)	2.93	(240)	2.63	(235)*
20-21	2.75	(79)	2.53	(100)	2.79	(99)	2.47	(114)	2.62	(188)	2.61	(219)
Black	2.72	(723)	2.77	(642)	2.20	(625)	2.44	(795)	2.74	(1380)	2.34	(1426)***
14-17	2.84	(417)	2.86	(327)	2.06	(356)	2.47	(353)	2.85	(746)	2.27	(709)***
18-19	2.45	(188)	2.66	(168)	2.25	(163)	2.55	(234)	2.54	(363)	2.41	(400)
20-21	2.66	(118)	2.78	(147)	2.53	(106)	2.34	(208)	2.72	(271)	2.40	(317)**
White	2.30	(1476)	2.44	(1528)	2.36	(1483)	2.51	(1753)	2.39	(3023)	2.44	(3254)
14-17	2.31	(823)	2.55	(718)	2.38	(725)	2.59	(769)	2.44	(1547)	2.50	(1500)
18-19	2.34	(389)	2.47	(371)	2.38	(396)	2.47	(467)	2.41	(766)	2.43	(871)
20-21	2.26	(264)	2.29	(439)	2.29	(362)	2.36	(517)	2.28	(710)	2.33	(883)

NOTE: Sample sizes are in parentheses. Asterisks refer to significance test for difference between the sexes for the total education group: *significant at .05 level; **significant at .01 level; ***significant at .001 level

Table 4 Mean Number of Children Expected (Per 1000 Women) by Composite Attitude Toward Women's Roles Score by Sex, Ethnicity, and Educational Expectations

Attitude score	Total		Hispanic		Black		White		Expect 0-12 years school		Expect 13 or more years school	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total	2452	10	2826	2638	2738	2329	2375	2449	2400	2360	2499	2500
8-12	2450	2209***	1821***	2463***	2808	2318	2399	2174***	2350*	1516***	2470	2168***
13-17	2339***	2344***	2798	2313***	2626**	2346	2271***	2345***	2335**	2281***	2339***	2373***
18-22	2444	2498***	2713*	2813***	2682	2309	2385	2504**	2373	2371	2509	2603***
23-27	2505**	2514***	2896	2645	2900***	2250*	2389	2548***	2437	2324	2591***	2779***
28-40	2614***	2873***	3047***	3080***	2818*	2669***	2536***	2872***	2475**	2668***	2822***	3254***

NOTE: Asterisks refer to significance test for difference from the mean (total) value for each group:
*significant at the .05 level;
*significant at the .01 level;
*significant at the .001 level.

Table 5 List of Control Variables

1.	Age of respondent.
2.	Years of schooling completed, by father (or mother where father was not present).
3.	Lived in country but not on farm or ranch at age 14 (coded 1). Otherwise coded 0.
4.	Lived on farm or ranch at age 14 (coded 1). Otherwise coded 0.
5.	Respondent's childhood religion was Catholic (coded 1). Otherwise coded 0.
6.	Respondent's childhood religion was Protestant (coded 1). Otherwise coded 0.
7.	Number of years of schooling expected by respondent.
8-10.	Respondent lives in South, West or North Central region respectively (coded 1). Otherwise coded 0.
11.	Frequency of church attendance. Coded from 1 (never) to 6 (more than once a week).
12.	Respondent is Hispanic (coded 1). Otherwise coded 0.
13.	Respondent is black (coded 1). Otherwise coded 0.
14.	Number of siblings which the respondent has.
15.	Respondent lived with both parents at age 14 (coded 1). Otherwise coded 0.
16.	Respondent lived with both parents in household (coded 1). Otherwise coded 0.

Table 6 Net Relationship Between Women's Role Attitude Composite Score and Fertility Expectations by Age, Sex and Ethnicity

	(Partial correlation coefficients) MALE		FEMALE	
Total sample	.05***	(4721)	.10***	(5060)
14-17	.02	(2466)	.08***	(2432)
18-19	.06*	(1215)	.09**	(1359)
20-21	.11***	(1039)	.17***	(1283)
Hispanic	.09**	(770)	.07*	(833)
Black	.05	(1146)	.02	(1192)
White	.05**	(2805)	.13***	(304)

* Significant at the .05 level.
** Significant at the .01 level.
***Significant at the .001 level.

NOTE: See Table 5 for listing of control variables included in partial correlation determination. Models stratified by age or ethnicity excluded the age or ethnicity control respectively. Sample sizes in parentheses. Samples are weighted so as to be representative of U.S. population of relevant age, sex or ethnic group.

Table 7 Net Relationship Between Women's Role Attitude Composite Score and Fertility Expectations by Sex and Educational Expectations

	(Partial correlation coefficient)			
	Expect 0-12 years of school		Expect 13 or more years of school	
Male	.03	(2356)	.07	(2365)***
Female	.05	(2268)*	.15	(2798)***

* Significant at the .05 level.
***Significant at the .001 level.

NOTE: See Figure 1 for listing of control variables included in partial correlation determination. Models stratified by educational expectation exclude educational expectation control variable. Sample sizes in parentheses. Samples are weighted so as to be representative of relevant U.S. population subgroup.

APPENDIX

Table A The Women's Roles Items

We are interested in your opinion about the employment of wives. (HAND CARD U). I will read a series of statements and after each one I would like to know whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree. (first/next) READ STATEMENT, do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	UN-DECIDED
a. A woman's place is in the home, not in the office or shop.	4	3	2	1	8
b. A wife who carries out her full family responsibilities doesn't have time for outside employment.	4	3	2	1	8
c. A working wife feels more useful than one who doesn't hold a job.	4	3	2	1	8
d. The employment of wives leads to more juvenile delinquency.	4	3	2	1	8
e. Employment of both parents is necessary to keep up with the high cost of living.	4	3	2	1	8
f. It is much better for everyone concerned if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family.	4	3	2	1	8
g. Men should share the work around the house with women, such as doing dishes, cleaning, and so forth.	4	3	2	1	8
h. Women are much happier if they stay at home and take care of their children.	4	3	2	1	8

Validation of the Fertility Expectation Data

The information on fertility expectations in this study is based on three questions the respondents were asked (1) have you ever had any children? (2) If yes, how many have you ever (given birth to (if female)) had (if male) at any time, not counting babies who were dead at birth and (3) Altogether, how many (more) children do you expect to have? If a woman (or man) had already had children, the respnses to (2) and (3) were summed.

The overall response rate to these questions was extremely high, with 99.9 percent of the sample responding to (1) above and 98.3 percent providing a quantitative response on the item on child expectations. Of the 1.7 percent not giving a quantitative response, 1.1 percent indicated they "don't know" and virtually all the rest inadvertently skipped over the question. The range of real responses was from 0 to 20 with 92.5 percent responding between 0 and 4 and 5.7 percent responding over four.

It is useful to compare our overall results on these data collected during the first few months of 1979 with data on fertility expectations collected by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in June 1978. Because of certain differences in the interviewing procedures, these comparisons must be limited to 18 to 21 year old females. The U.S. Bureau of the Census did not ask the fertility history prospective fertility question of never-married women below the age of

18. In addition, the questions on fertility intentions were only asked of female respondents. To the extent that certain kinds of women were probably under-represented among the actual respondents, the C.P.S. fertility data could be biased. Overall, 14.8 percent of age 18-24 ever married women and 33.8 percent of age 18-24 single women did not report on birth expectations, a statistic sufficiently large to possibly introduce bias into the Census results.

For the 18-21 year old subset that can be compared between the Census and NLS samples, the NLS female respondents report significantly and systematically higher fertility expectations, as may be seen in Appendix Table 1A. Within virtually every age-race-marital status subset, respondents in the NLS sample expect a greater number of children. The differences are somewhat greater for the black women, statistics demonstrated by the single women in both the 18-19 and 20-21 age groups.

The difference between the CPS and NLS numbers is due entirely to the greater number of additional births expected in the NLS sample as there is virtually no variation between the two samples in the number of children already born.

An examination of the expected parity distribution for the NLS and CPS sample for white, black and Hispanic women shows that the major difference between the two samples is at the poles of the distribution. For both 18-19 and 20-21 year olds, a much larger proportion of the CPS sample indicated that they expect to have no children. Indeed, the

differences in some instances are quite striking. Among Hispanics, 14.3 percent of the 18-19 CPS women and 8.6 percent of the Hispanic 20-21 year old women had indicated that they did not plan to have any children, compared with only 2.4 and 1.6 percent, respectively, among the NLS Hispanic respondents. The gaps are also quite large for the white and black groups.

Many more CPS than NLS respondents expect, in addition, to have only one child. Combining the zero and one point groups, fully 25 percent of CPS 18-21 year olds expect no more than one child compared with only 13.2 of their NLS counterparts.

Conversely, only 9.7 percent of the CPS 18-19 year olds and 8.3 percent of the CPS 20-21 year olds expect four or more children, compared with 17.2 and 13.7 percent for the comparable NLS groups. Once again, these differences are systematic and occur for all age, ethnic and racial groups.

It is possible that a modest part of the difference may reflect the fact that our data are for a point in time about 8 months later than the CPS interviews--consistent with the notion that fertility expectations for young Americans may be rising. It is unlikely, however, that this temporal artifact can explain what in aggregate terms is a substantial fertility difference between two nationally representative data sets. While this difference certainly warrants further investigation, it is unlikely to be of major relevance for this paper, which is primarily concerned

with expectation differentials. The NLS data systematically report more children expected within all ethnic and racial groups. Thus, comparisons between the groups are probably not affected in any major way. From the perspective of interpreting likely fertility trends in the U.S., the CPS-NLS variations may be considered differences of major proportions--of sufficient importance to warrant careful consideration by the demographic community.

Table B Mean Number of Births Expected by NLS and CPS Women

	All women		Married		Wid., div., sep.		Single	
	CPS	NLS	CPS	NLS	CPS	NLS	CPS	NLS
	ALL RACES							
Births to date*								
18-19	189	181	511	640	(B)	739	80	79
20-21	407	380	689	721	931	1047	148	146
Expected births*								
18-19	1835	2263	1574	1706	(B)	1330	1933	2394
20-21	1616	1971	1419	1630	971	1089	1825	2227
Lifetime births expected*								
18-19	2024	2444	2085	2346	(B)	2069	2013	2473
20-21	2023	2351	2108	2350	1902	2136	1972	2373
	WHITES							
Births to date*								
18-19	156	130	488	580	(B)	752	33	21
20-21	360	301	659	669	837	879	69	48
Expected births*								
18-19	1919	2306	1592	1717	(B)	1234	2049	2456
20-21	1671	2023	1428	1632	1050	1093	1942	2322
Lifetime births expected*								
18-19	2075	2436	2080	2297	(B)	1986	2082	2477
20-21	2036	2324	2086	2301	1887	1972	2011	2370
	BLACKS							
Births to date*								
18-19	409	408	(B)	1117	(B)	993	339	349
20-21	775	753	1136	1025	(B)	1721	583	586
Expected births*								
18-19	1337	2003	(B)	1495	(B)	1068	-	2051
20-21	1184	1635	1333	1384	(B)	1031	1198	1758
Lifetime births expected*								
18-19	1746	2411	(B)	2612	(B)	2061	1676	2400
20-21	1959	2387	2469	2419	(B)	2751	1782	2339

*Births per 1000 women.

(B) Base too small to show derived measure.

- Nothing reported.

NOTE: CPS data from Table 4 in Fertility of American Women, June 1978, Population Characteristics, p. 20, No. 34, Oct. 1979, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Table C . Number of Lifetime Births Expected by NLS and CPS Women

	Total		None		One		Two		Three		Four		Five or more	
	CPS	NLS	CPS	NLS	CPS	NLS	CPS	NLS	CPS	NLS	CPS	NLS	CPS	NLS
18-19	100.0	100.0	13.5	7.1	11.5	6.1	48.6	48.4	16.7	21.2	6.4	12.6	3.3	4.6
White	100.0	100.0	12.6	7.3	9.5	4.6	50.7	49.6	16.8	22.0	7.1	12.2	3.2	4.2
Black	100.0	100.0	18.7	7.8	22.9	12.9	35.0	42.0	17.2	18.1	2.3	12.9	3.9	6.4
Hispanic	100.0	100.0	14.3	2.4	13.8	9.3	45.1	48.0	12.8	17.7	7.6	16.1	6.4	6.0
20-21	100.0	100.0	12.0	5.6	13.0	7.6	48.6	53.8	18.1	19.4	5.5	9.5	2.8	4.2
White	100.0	100.0	11.8	6.0	11.7	6.3	50.3	55.8	17.8	19.5	5.6	8.4	2.8	3.9
Black	100.0	100.0	13.1	4.9	21.1	13.4	36.2	45.0	21.3	19.2	4.6	12.9	3.7	4.6
Hispanic	100.0	100.0	8.6	1.6	19.5	10.3	35.0	47.2	23.3	19.8	9.4	15.1	4.2	6.0

NOTE: CPS data from Table 4 in Fertility of American Women, June 1978, Population Characteristics, p. 20, No. 34, Oct. 1979, U.S. Bureau of the Census.